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P13005

Sat May 27 13:47:05 1995

Page 1

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PAGE 001
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E.O. 12356: DECLAS: OADR
TAGS: AMGT
COMBINE: COMPLETE

SUBJECT: "I'VE BROKEN THE MACHINE"

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. GENERAL SMITH AFFIRMED THE VIEW THAT THE UNPROFOR MISSION IS DRAWING TO A CLOSE. THE "ONE THOUSAND DOLLAR QUESTION IS ARE WE TO GO ON THROUGH THE PAIN BARRIER? ... YOU ARE PREPARED TO FIGHT OR YOU ARE NOT." ACCORDING TO SMITH "THIS IS THE ONLY QUESTION WHICH MATTERS."

IF YES:

3. IF THE ANSWER IS YES (WE ARE PREPARED TO CROSS THE BARRIER) IT MEANS BEING PREPARED FOR
--BODIES,
--A LONG TERM COMMITMENT
--RESOURCES, "MONEY,"
--AND A WILLINGNESS TO ESCALATE.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Robert Homme, Senior Reviewer

SECRET

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SECRET

P13005

Sat May 27 13:47:05 1995

Page 2

SECRET

SPECAT

95 0554944* SSO

PAGE 002
TOR: 271608Z MAY 95NC 0554944*
SARJ 00204

4. FURTHER, FOR SMITH, THERE MUST BE "A CLEAR PLAN BEHIND ME AS TO WHERE WE'RE GOING." THERE MUST BE "A BIGGER AIM THAN FOUR WEAPONS GETTING BACK INTO COLLECTION POINTS." THIS WAS ESSENTIAL ALSO FOR THE "MORALE" OF THOSE HOSTAGES WHO MAY BE SACRIFICED: THERE MUST BE A LARGER REASON, "A GOOD, SOLID OBJECTIVE." DO WE "FIGHT A WAR?"

5. IF WE CROSS THE PAIN BARRIER, UNPROFOR, DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, AND OTHERS TRAPPED IN SARAJEVO BECOME PART OF THE PROBLEM AS POTENTIAL HOSTAGES. SMITH FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE PAIN BARRIER DECISION MUST NOT BE A QUESTION FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, BUT RATHER A MATTER FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL CONTENT.
IF NO:

6. IF WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO CROSS THE PAIN BARRIER, SMITH SAID "DON'T TALK TO ME ABOUT AIR STRIKES, WEAPONS COLLECTION POINTS, EXCLUSION ZONES, OR SAFE AREAS." IN THIS CASE AS WELL, SMITH SAID "I'M PART OF THE PROBLEM: WE CAN'T DO WHAT WE WERE DOING." THE UNPROFOR MISSION WOULD HAVE TO WITHDRAW, "LEAVING UNHCR" BEHIND.

7. IN EITHER CASE, SMITH SAYS, "I'VE BROKEN THE MACHINE, AND IT CAN'T BE PUT TOGETHER." THE UN MISSION IS IRREPARABLY HARMED IN EITHER CASE. THE OLD CONDITIONS CANNOT BE RECREATED, AND THE UN CANNOT PRETEND THAT IT CAN OPERATE UNDER THE EXISTING MANDATES. THERE "MUST BE A DEFINITION OF THE OBJECT OF ACTIVITY" FOR THE UN. SMITH SAYS "I HAVE DEMONSTRABLY FAILED TO REESTABLISH THE TEZ." HE POINTED OUT "WE HAVE NO WEAPONS COLLECTIONS POINTS IN OUR CONTROL." (COMMENT: WE POINTED OUT THAT THEY STILL CONTROL THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WCP'S. END COMMENT.) IF THE SYG SAYS TO ESCALATE, SMITH "WILL NOT TURN THE KEY" UNTIL THERE IS A PLAN IN PLACE, OUTLINING WHO FILLS IN BEHIND THE UNPROFOR MISSION.

WHAT NEXT?

8. SMITH IS ABLE TO HOLD ON FOR A TIME. HE HAS CREATED A BATTLE GROUP NEAR VITEZ. (COMMENT: VICE PRESIDENT GANIC

SECRET

SECRET

C05960938

SECRET

P13005

Sat May 27 13:47:05 1995

Page 3

SECRET

SPECAT

95 0554944* SSO

PAGE 003
TOR: 271608Z MAY 95NC 0554944*
SARJ 00204

95 0554944* SSO PAGE 003 NC 0554944*
TOR: 271608Z MAY 95 SARJ 00204

CALLER US IN TO REASSURE HIM THAT THE BRITISH WERE NOT WITHDRAWING IN THIS AREA--THE LOCAL POPULACE HAD TRIED TO BLOCK SOME ELEMENTS FROM CONSOLIDATING WITH THIS FEAR IN MIND. END COMMENT.) THE GROUP WILL CONSIST OF PRIMARILY BRITISH ELEMENTS

--3 WARRIOR RIFLE COMPANIES
--A RECCE SQUADRON
--AN ENGINEER SQUADRON
--ONE OR MORE FIRE SUPPORT COMPANIES WITH ANTI-TANK MISSILES AND MORTARS (SMITH IS REQUESTING CANADIAN AND SPANISH PARTICIPATION)
--HELICOPTERS FOR CASUALTY EVACUATION
--ARMED LYNX HELICOPTERS

9. SMITH EMPHASIZES THAT "AIR POWER WILL NOT SOLVE THIS PROBLEM." RATHER, "WE'RE COMING DOWN TO THE GROUND." IT IS ESSENTIAL, ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF AN UNPROFOR EXTRACTION, TO DETERMINE WHO "FILLS IN BEHIND UNPROFOR."

10. THIS MORNING AT THE VRBANJA BRIDGE CONFRONTATION, THE FRENCH CAPTURED SIX SERB PRISONERS AND ONE BODY. AT THE TIME OF OUR CONVERSATION THE FRENCH STILL HAD TEN SERBS "UNDER THE GUNS" BUT THERE WERE TWO FRENCH SOLDIERS AMONG THEM. ACCORDING TO SMITH, THE SERBS WERE TERRIBLY ANXIOUS TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE PRISONERS, BUT SMITH REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER EXCEPT WITH MLADIC PERSONALLY.

11. THE REASON FOR THE SERB ANXIETY IS TWO-FOLD. FIRST, THEY ARE AFRAID THAT THE PRISONERS MIGHT BE TURNED OVER TO THE BOSNIANS (WITH UNPREDICTABLE RESULTS), AND, SECOND, SMITH BELIEVES THE SERBS MAY BE FROM THE FRY, NOT BOSNIA. REPORTEDLY THEY SPOKE FRENCH AND WERE DRESSED EXACTLY LIKE THE FRENCH: IN THIS WAY, "WE ARE OUTSIDE THE GENEVA CONVENTION." (COMMENT: GANIC ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE OF PRISONERS WITH US, SAYING THAT THE BOSNIANS WOULD WANT TO SEIZE THEM FROM THE FRENCH DURING TRANSFER TO THE PTT BUILDING. WE URGED, EMPHATICALLY, THAT THE BOSNIANS LEAVE THEM WITH SMITH, WITHOUT PROVIDING ANY DETAILS. GANIC SAID HE WOULD, IN FACT, PROVIDE A POLICE ESCORT TO ASSURE THAT THEY ARRIVE SAFE AND IN SMITH'S HANDS. END COMMENT.)

SECRET

SECRET

P13005

Sat May 27 13:47:05 1995

Page 4

SECRET

SPECAT

95 0554944* SSO

PAGE 004
TOR: 271608Z MAY 95

NC 0554944*
SARJ 00204

12. SMITH IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE RETURN OF THE BODY IN THE EVENT THAT THE FRENCH NEED A HERCULES FOR A MEDEVAC OF ONE OR MORE OF THEIR WOUNDED.

13. COMMENT: SMITH REAFFIRMED OUR VIEW THAT THE UNPROFOR MISSION IS DRAWING TO AN END, REGARDLESS OF THE RESUMPTION OF ROBUST ACTION. UNPROFOR CANNOT GO BACK TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE, AND YET IF IT FAILS TO ESCALATE, AND MUST ACCEPT INSTEAD A NEGOTIATED, FACE-SAVING SOLUTION, IT WILL BE UNABLE TO ENFORCE ANY ELEMENT OF ITS MANDATE: THE SAFE AREAS, TEZ, AND PREVIOUS REGIME WILL BE LOST COMPLETELY AND CANNOT BE REPLACED BY THIS UN MISSION. IF THE UN DETERMINES TO CONTINUE WITH AN ENFORCEMENT OPERATION, THE MISSION WILL END: UNPROFOR WILL REQUIRE A NATO EXTRACTION. WE BELIEVE THAT WE ARE APPROACHING PERHAPS THE FINAL CRISIS OF THE UNPROFOR MISSION IN BOSNIA. END COMMENT. MENZIES

END OF MESSAGE

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